THE WORLD TOMORROW

Reviving Radical Religion

Edward L. Israel

British Pacifists and the Revolution

A. Fenner Brockway and R. M. Entwistle

Back of the Spanish Revolution

H. C. ENGELBRECHT

A Plea for Frankness

an Editorial

NOVEMBER 9th

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J. B. S. Hardman is editor of the *Advance,* official orga the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Paul Blanshard is executive secretary of the City Affairs C mittee and is co-author with Norman Thomas of *What's Matter with New York?*

This Week's Anniversary

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

DIED NOVEMBER 14, 1915

The Negro is the only citizen of this countr who came here by special invitation and by reas of special provision. The Caucasian came her against the protest of the leading citizens of th country in 1492. We were so important to th prosperity of this country that special vessel were sent to convey us hither. . . . There is some times much talk about the inferiority of th Negro. In practice, however, the idea appear to be that he is a sort of superman. He is ex pected, with about one-fifth of what the white receive for education, to make as much progres as they are making. Taking the Southern state as a whole, about $10.23 per capita is spent in educating the average white boy or girl, and the sum of $2.82 per capita in educating the average black child. . . . At the present rate, it is taking, not a few days or a few years, but a century or more to get Negro education on a plane similar to that on which the education of the whites is. . . . In several of our Southern states, first-class Negro convicts earn $40 per month for twelve months in the year, while Negro school teachers receive about $25 per month for teaching four or five months in the year. When we consider all the struggles, all the difficulties through which both races have passed during the last fifty years, the wonder is, not that we have accomplished so little, but that we have accomplished so much. . . . I challenge any man to cite the case of any other race in the annals of history that under similar circumstances and in the same period of time has made the progress that our race has made. From *Selected Speeches of Booker T. Washington.*

THE WORLD TOMORROW

ol. XV November 9, 1932 No. 17

ne Undying William

Two hundred and fifty years ago, on the 24th day October, William Penn set foot on American soil. hen he did so, he released spiritual forces that have de the State of Pennsylvania ring down the ages d have given America itself a heritage that will never forgotten. Penn's familiar "holy experiment" not rely taught the world the possibilities of pacific bits in community organization, but, as everyone ows, demonstrated that the red man, suspicious and rful as the result of sad experience with venal ites, could be brought into comradeship and fra- nal respect by kindly, just and equitable treatment. Penn's contribution to the development of true non- olence must not, by the cordiality of the tribute the rld owes him and will accord him gladly, be exag- rated. He never got beyond a belief in the attain- nt and preservation of world order by the threat of ited force against any violator of international com- cts; he never was able to guide his colony away from stern police rule which in certain local instances nds out in sharp contrast to the best we know in odern times about penology and crime prevention. e had grown up in an environment greatly at odds th his later life, and the miracle is that his faith imated him so fervently that, despite his early back- ound, he rose into planes of moral purity and no- ity reached only by the earth's great souls.

An old story about Penn is worth re-telling for the ht it throws upon his early struggles and the in- ence of that great founder of Quakerdom, George x. Penn, who was the son of an admiral, was found Fox one day to be wearing a sword. But all that x said was, "William, I see thee is wearing thy ord." "Why, yes," responded Penn—who was not little of a dandy in those days—"should I leave it ?" "Wear it as long as thee can, William," said x; and that was all. But soon the two met again, d this time Penn was without a sword. "I see thee s no sword," commented Fox. Whereupon Penn nply replied, according to the version of the encoun- r that we have heard, "I wore it as long as I could." ne story may or may not have its legendary aspects; embodies and suggests those very qualities of quiet, argumentative persistence that have carried the So- ty of Friends into the hearts of countless thousands tside their membership, and have given them so de- rved a reputation for kindly, sacrificial dealings with eir fellowmen. If we were today to lament anything at all about the Friends, it would be the fact that the zeal and economic forthrightness of a John Woolman might well be added in a larger measure to the prophetic stand of a Fox and the calm genius of a Penn. Not all of the Friends, by far, have yet awakened to the greatest moral issue of our time, which is the struggle for a world of economic justice.

More Pearls of Campaign Wisdom

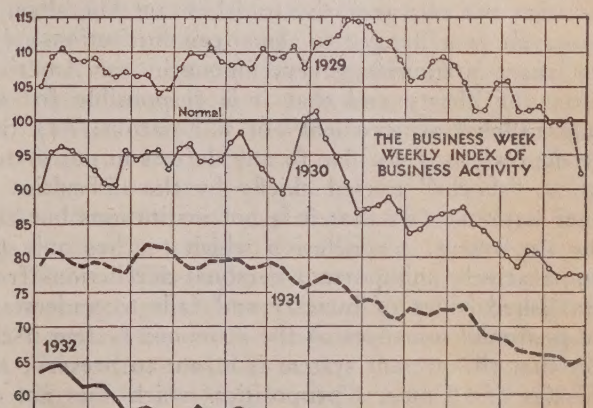
"This talk of coercion of voters is all rubbish. What is needed is sincere advice. I am trying to inspire in you [Pittsburgh manufacturers] something of a missionary spirit, that may lead you to go out and work with those who trust you and believe in you, who trust your judgment and who will respect your opinion."—*Senator David Reed in address to Pittsburgh business men.*

"The increased authority to the bipartisan tariff

Decaying Capitalism

Special to The New York Times.

Chicago, Oct. 30.—Lack of speculative buying in all grain markets of the world, particularly here and in Winnipeg, has resulted in liquidation of speculative holdings and a decline in prices to bottom levels never known before by traders of the present day. On the Board of Trade here **prices of wheat are the lowest since 1852, and of corn since 1896,** while new lows were recorded for oats and rye. . . .



The above chart prepared by *The Business Week*, is compiled from 8 series of weekly figures—steel mill operations, building contracts, bituminous coal production, electric power output, non-bulk carloadings, check payments outside New York, commercial loans of reporting Federal Reserve member banks, and currency in circulation.

commission—which was brought about at my insistence two years ago—was the greatest reform in tariff legislation in half a century."—*President Hoover.*

"The fundamental issue in this campaign, the decision which will fix the national direction for 100 years is whether we shall go on in fidelity to American traditions or whether we shall turn to innovations, the spirit of which is disclosed to us by many sinister revelations and veiled promises."—*President Hoover.*

"This is no time to permit petty factional differences to interfere with party support. . . . We better take a leaf out of the Democratic scrapbook. . . . When Al Smith and William Randolph Hearst and Huey Long and Barney Baruch support the same ticket, as they are doing, you can easily see why the Democrats are so confident."—*Ambassador Walter Edge.*

"Your contribution will be brought to the attention of the Governor himself."—*From a letter from navy shipbuilders soliciting campaign funds for Roosevelt.*

"My conception of America is a land where men and women may walk in ordered liberty, where they may enjoy the advantages of wealth not concentrated in the hands of a few but diffused through opportunity for all."—*President Hoover.*

Hoover's New York Speech

The address of President Hoover at Madison Square Garden in New York on Monday night is a convincing revelation of the blindness of reaction. There is nothing in the contemporary situation which is clearly apprehended.

The President believes or affects to believe (1) That "sectional and group raids" on the treasury are dangerous, but for him that means demands for unemployed workers and he regards R.F.C. loans to banks without adequate collateral as a benefit for all people; (2) that the very tentative and hesitant liberalism of Roosevelt is a danger to American institutions; (3) that there is something very unique in our American system of liberty and that it is responsible for the "unparalleled achievement" of our nation; (4) that the depression is not due to any defects in our system but to "shocks" caused chiefly by the difficulties of other nations; (5) that it is not institutions but men who do wrong; a conclusion which touches only the comparatively unimportant personal derelictions from established codes of honesty and fails to understand the profound injustices of the economic system itself; (6) that the present system is meant to preserve the liberties of all men, a proposition which does not explain just what the insecure multitudes are to regard as their "liberties"; and (7) that his hope of four years ago that poverty was to be abolished in this country is still a legitimate hope which has possibilities of realization in terms of his political philosophy.

Every one of these propositions is absurd. They reveal an obtuseness which could never be expla purely in terms of the natural limitations of huma telligence. It is an obtuseness which is possible when classes which are attempting to maintain special privileges in society see all things in term their own interest.

It must be added that the frank reaction of P dent Hoover is in many respects less dangerous the vague and sentimental liberalism of Roose who in his anxiety to be all things to all men hope cure the ills from which we are suffering by a " deal" which expresses itself in pious hopes and is c pletely wanting in any specific implementation in te of understandable political policies.

On Throwing Away Your Judgment

A leaflet which appears to have been widely tributed among peace workers and others active in p gressive movements, written by Mr. Edwin D. M of Boston, has come to our desk. It is entitled " Throwing Away Your Vote," and is a plea aga voting for Norman Thomas, holding up instead N Hoover as the great hope of the hour. We hav profound respect for the author of this folder, wh many years of service to the cause of peace entitle h to the thanks of the nation. But certain implicati in his argument may confound those who, like author of the essay himself, are still a long way fr understanding socialism, and for that reason we sire to comment on it.

"The course of Norman Thomas and his Social Party," writes Mr. Mead, "seems to me to show spi Norman Thomas does not impress some of us by c spicuous constructive statesmanship; but no seric man can follow his utterances without being impress by his untiring devotion to his cause, his searchi study of our social conditions, his commanding c cern for the unprivileged man and his hunt for justi It is impossible that the earnest movement which leads should not contribute signally to provide wis solutions of our common problem. I do not believe the Socialist program; but I understand it and respe it." Mr. Mead, however, proceeds to show indisp ably that he understands socialism not at all. His chi argument against it is his despair over old-party co ruption, and his wonderment as to how Socialis might hope to run the country safely if they were power, without graft and wrongdoing, in view of th Republican and Democratic record! That Mr. Mea in his concluding sentences reverses his position an argues that corruption has bitten in very slightly s far as the rank and file in the old parties are involve does not concern us. That he and many other peop do not know the most elementary things about socia ism while at the same time condemning it concerns a great deal. For Mr. Mead and others of his vie let us point out that the Socialist Party is not merel

arty of hangers-on. It is different from other ies in that its members pay dues and are suscept- to a certain party discipline. As in the past, on se more than rare occasions when any member has wn selfish disregard for public decency, he can be elled. It is highly significant that students of the of money in elections both here and abroad have failed to draw a sharp contrast between the Social- movement and other political organizations in re- ct to their election practices, their accurate keeping financial records, their frankness in reporting ex- ditures, and, even where they have great power, relatively meager funds with which they have ght to influence the electorate. But there is a per-lying aspect of the problem than these objective ts. Under capitalism, self-interest favors the rise graft, for the present system promotes political ir- ponsibility. Under socialism, self-interest acts to train and eradicate graft. If you are a member, let say, of a coöperative restaurant — to take the plest sort of analogy—and do anything to bring n that enterprise a bad name, your own pocket- k will immediately feel the effects in the reduced ring of the rebates which normally would come to at the end of every month proportionately to your chases. When people actually own their industries, must rise or fall themselves with the success or lure of the undertakings in which they are vitally cerned, responsibility becomes the inevitable factor h which we have to reckon.

Again, Mr. Mead and, we suppose, many another son, still defines socialism as "the relegation of rything to government." We should be highly in- ested to know what Socialist economist or prophet the derivation of this view. As a matter of fact, der socialism, because the essential industries would eed be run by government ownership, there would an opportunity for democratic and local respons- ity and management to a degree now inconceivable. cialists propose a democratic tripartite management consumers, workers, and technicians in each indus- ; and in operation this program would be exactly reverse of the present concentration of power on banks of the Potomac in the hands of a few busi- ss men and politicians whose anti-social deeds can so en be put through before an ignorant and remote blic even hears about them.

As for Norman Thomas, all we need to do is to re- rate our belief that those who come to know him not ne by his addresses but by contact with his brilliant nd and personality, will eventually realize, if they not now, that his claim for support rests most of upon his constructive and administrative ability. here is overwhelming evidence that the peace rkers of the country know where, in this election, eir true interest lies, and that they mean to vote cordingly.

How Will the Women Vote?

Few campaign debaters, in all probability, have failed to run into the Republican argument that women will swell the Hoover total this year as they did in 1928. Unfortunately, there is evidence that women rather consistently tend to vote conservatively, and that the history of woman suffrage to date is a story of padded majorities for reactionary candidates, not only in this country but in many others. That this is any reason for believing that women will permanently line up on the side of conservatism, we refuse to believe.

Leaders of the major parties, except when talking for publication, rather generally count upon a conservative trend among women voters, and we fancy that the Republican strategists are fairly shrewd in directing their appeals regarding poor and abused Mr. Hoover to the womenfolk of the United States. It has been estimated by competent authorities that although many women still stay away from the polls, 30 per cent of the total vote came from women in 1920, 35 per cent in 1924, and 45 per cent in 1928. This huge women's vote is a factor not to be underestimated in forecasting the future development of politics.

The participation of women in politics thus far has not reacted very creditably, we are obliged to confess, upon them. We have had too few Jeanette Rankins and altogether too many Ma Fergusons and Florence Knapps. It is significant that the Socialist Party, from the beginning of woman suffrage, after fighting for suffrage through many years, has been running women consistently in large numbers for all sorts of offices. But in the main, outstanding women seem to have found it fairly easy to play the old political game, either accepting as necessary the compromises with idealism involved in running for office as Democrats or Republicans, or at least endorsing a candidate of one of the old parties. This year, for example, one hundred women of prominence came out for Roosevelt, two days after sixty-nine well-known women had issued an appeal for the re-election of Hoover. To look over their names is to find reason why many Socialists sometimes despair of any political realism emanating from the women whose energies, poured into the great struggle for suffrage, appear depleted and incapable of carrying on another crusade for idealism in this generation. Behind Roosevelt, for example, are women of such outstanding public service as Mrs. Henry Goddard Leach, Mrs. V. G. Simkovitch, and Dean Virginia Gildersleeve of Barnard. On the Republican side, aligned in company with Mrs. Grace N. Brosseau and several other former presidents-general of the D. A. R. and a group of presidents of local Republican clubs, are to be found Miss Ada Comstock, president of Radcliffe, Dr. Valeria H. Parker, Miss Mary E. Woolley, and Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt. For all of these women we have great respect. But it is hardly possible to feel anything other than regret that they

have thus quite frankly abandoned any further hope of a genuine new deal in politics and economics, and are augmenting the already justifiable disillusionment over the contribution of women to political progress.

Bishop Manning and the Negroes

Life brings so many strange surprises. We never expected to find anything exceptional in the actions and attitudes of Bishop Manning to commend, when, lo and behold, the Bishop makes the front page in the interest of a very worthy cause. On Sunday, October 23, he forced his way into a locked All Souls Episcopal Church in New York in order to keep the church open for hundreds of Negro worshippers against whom it had been closed over the protest of their own rector by a vestry which desired to protect their property from a growing Negro congregation.

All Souls Church is on the edge of the Negro section. Most of its white members have moved away. Under the ministry of the rector, Rev. Rollin Dodd, an increasing number of Negroes have found a spiritual home there. The vestrymen insist that they were quite willing to have the Negroes worship with them but they did not want to admit them into membership, lest the endowment of over $100,000 would finally fall into the hands of a Negro congregation. The seven vestrymen who tried to make the ministry of Rev. Dodd untenable because of his sympathy toward the Negro members of his flock declare that only a short time ago the Bishop agreed with them that the Negroes ought to worship in a separate mission. Whether that is true or not and even if the conversion of Bishop Manning is of recent origin, it is a gratifying experience to be able to commend him for his uncompromising stand in this instance and to record one of the few cases on record in which the official church has played absolutely fairly with its Negro communicants. Undoubtedly All Souls Church will become a Negro church and will not long continue as a church for both races. But at any rate the Negroes have gained a church property against the efforts of a white congregation to maintain its vested interests.

Blind Leaders of the Blind

In a letter sent to his friends and associates, Dr. John R. Mott pleads for the reelection of President Hoover because the President "had such a large part in conceiving, launching and advocating promising remedial measures for meeting and reversing the tides of economic depression"; because he is "one of the most socially minded of all our presidents"; because no one is "more sensitively responsive to the voice of human need"; because he "has a keen sense of spiritual values" and places "emphasis on the basic importance of religion"; and because he has a "sensitive conscience—the result of a life-long habit of heeding the inner voice."

In somewhat the same fashion the *Christian* *tury* asks for Mr. Hoover's reelection because lieves that his "spiritual nature" will assert its a second term when it will be freed from the "i tions of practical politics" and because he is most educable president the nation has ever ha

These two election statements, coming from so to which the Christian churches have looked "prophetic leadership," fill the heart with dis They prove how little insight into political rea can be expected from the ordinary religious le ship. It simply does not function in political te Perhaps its greatest source of confusion is its ina to distinguish between personal character and pol character. It may be that Mr. Hoover is the character which Dr. Mott portrays. Before we g that point, for the sake of argument it would be to point out that Hoover's insistence "on the im tance of religion and the place of spiritual val has not been greater than that found in the spe of Warren G. Harding; that Mr. Hoover's "life- habit of heeding the inner voice" is pure fiction, he has never been a practising Quaker; and that Hoover has probably played for the stakes of po as unscrupulously as any president of our history.

But even if Mr. Hoover were a much more i Christian character than he is, that would not p that he understands the basic ethical problems of civilization. There is abundant proof that he not. His effort to maintain the adequacy of pri charity in a period of public calamity proves hi be either very insincere or morally very obtuse, cause all the facts prove that it is impossible to r a major social crisis with the resources of pri philanthropy. His insistence that communities municipalities must bear the burden of the depres rather than the federal government is equally verse, because we operate a national economic sys in which social responsibilities must be nationally portioned.

A political leader must be judged by his polit stature and not by his private virtues. One rec that in the Cleveland-Blaine compaign almost all the good Christian people voted for Mr. Blaine p ly because Mr. Cleveland's morals were not regar as impeccable. Yet Blaine had several blots on escutcheon and Mr. Cleveland proved to be one the most courageous presidents in our history. Th is in this passion for personal rectitude always a tain element of honest confusion and another elem of conscious or unconscious rationalization of the servative position. After all, the "good people" vo for Mr. Harding without inquiring too carefully i his personal habits, and religious leaders were just impressed by his unctuous statements about the imp tance of religion as is Dr. Mott with Presid Hoover's similar utterances.

f there was the slightest understanding of the criti- character of the distempers of our contemporary lization, no degree of admiration for the real or posed personal virtues of a political leader could ay our religious leaders to support him if his poli- tended to aggravate the disease from which we suffering, as the policies of Hoover do. It is obtuseness which is therefore the most disheart- ng aspect of these religious pronouncements. If leadership of the Christian church can not see re clearly into the profounder causes of our dis- ss than these statements reveal, we might as well mit that the church is on the way of meeting a e analogous to that of the Russian church. A eek priest who spends his time lighting candles l drooling an endless liturgy seems to be no less ightened about the vast historic forces which are lermining his civilization than our more modern ests and hierarchs who illumine our darkness by ealing that Mr. Hoover has a "spiritual nature."

o Bed of Roses!

One of the supreme tragedies of the present econ- ic debacle is found in the inability of industrial and ancial leaders to learn its terrible lessons, and to be ided accordingly. It would be natural to assume, in w of the holocaust of business failures and the demic of suicides, that intelligent men everywhere uld be eagerly exploring the pathways to a funda- ntally different economic order. And it is true that substantial minority of leaders in manufacturing, mmerce, and banking are prepared to say con- entially that capitalism as we have known it is omed. But business men in general are too be- mbed by their losses and anxieties to think clearly out the future, and are doing little more than to ex- ess fervent hopes that the storm will soon blow over d that everything will again be back to normal.

An ominous prospect is outlined in a recent editorial *The Business Week,* one of the most alert and eral of the spokesmen for industrialists and finan- rs, from which we now quote:

> The chances are that the world that will rise out of the waters of the long liquidation will be much the same old cockeyed world, operating in the same old spirit of keen, throat-cutting competition, only much more so. So far as we can see, nothing in the basic pattern of business life and conduct in this country has been altered by the depression; but everything in it will probably be greatly intensified in the period that lies ahead, no less the vices than the virtues of our insane economic system.
>
> Its instability will be more marked; the next boom bigger when it comes, and the next depression deeper, as indeed seems to have been true of each succeeding cycle in our history. . . . So far as this country is concerned, and during the next period of business expansion, we shall not be ready for any other game or any other rule, though no doubt orators at business conventions will continue to argue the sweet reasonableness of coöperation and the desirability of revising the anti-trust laws, while the cloistered liberals will keep on contemplating the celestial mysteries of economic planning.
>
> This stern principle of survival of the fittest is likely to be enforced by certain fundamental economic factors which the foresighted business man will face. First is the probability of a permanently low commodity price level, barring another war-inflation. . . . Second, and in sharp contrast to this prospect, is the practical certainty of rising wage levels under the inescapable pressure of constantly expanding productivity of industry and necessity of selling the product. These two factors will force every far-sighted business concern to find for itself a sharper set of teeth for the bloody battle that is bound to be fought for a bite of the consumer's dollar. . . . The slow-witted and the penny-wise, pound-foolish in every field will fall by the wayside when the struggle starts. Only those who are willing and able to fight every inch of the way with cheaper, better products and more powerful sales effort are likely to win. Recovery will be welcomed by all, but it will be no bed of roses for any.

No bed of roses! Rather a terrestrial hell for employers and workers alike! In the above quotation is outlined the straightest and quickest road to the violent overthrow of the existing economic order. The observation cannot be made too often that revolutions are caused by reactionaries and not by agitators. A bigger boom and a deeper depression will smash capitalism into smithereens and will make much more improbable the pacific passage to a coöperative commonwealth. Are we to admit that our generation is intellectually bankrupt, and that no other course is open to us except to fight our way over the precipice of another economic depression? Or will we, while there is yet time, repudiate the insane savagery of capitalism, and throw every ounce of our energy behind the effort to strengthen the Socialist movement?

m *Wahre Jakob* (Berlin)

A Plea for Frankness

THE Communist National Campaign Committee is releasing a series of statements by intellectuals as to why they propose to vote for Foster and Ford. In one of these a well-known publicist says: "Why not vote Socialist? Chiefly because I think the idea that the present political state can be used to bring justice the purest chimera. *That state is the exploiters' creature and tool.* It cannot be redeemed. It must be set aside. For it must be substituted some machinery geared to the purpose of human well-being. Specifically, workers by hand and brain, workers who make things that are useful and perform useful service, must set up control, use that machinery of government. On the world stage! I believe the time approaches — enough Communist votes will bring it nearer—for a new deal for the world."

That sounds quite innocent! Enough Communist votes—and everything will be lovely! Surely the reader may legitimately draw the conclusion that this writer believes that Communists consider the ballot one of the effective ways of ushering in the revolution. The statement further contains the vague "positive reason": "that my vote may go to a party which gives chief attention to the exploited areas of our population; which deliberately aims to 'bring down the mighty from their seats and exalt them of low degree'; which works for a type of social organization that will make the leveling permanent and just."

But how are the mighty to be dethroned, and just what is the type of social organization required to accomplish this end? The public to which this appeal is addressed is entitled to a clear answer. That reply is not found in the release which we are quoting, nor does it appear in the 32-page pamphlet appealing for Communist votes recently signed by 52 intellectuals. The latter document says: "The Communist Party of America proposes as the real solution of the present crisis the overthrow of the system which is responsible for all crises. This can only be accomplished by the conquest of political power and the establishment of a workers' and farmers' government which will usher in the Socialist commonwealth. The Communist Party does not stop short merely with a proclamation of its revolutionary goal. It links that goal up with the daily battles of the working class for jobs, bread and peace. Its action and achievements are impressive evidence of its revolutionary sincerity." But this mild campaign document lays no emphasis whatever upon violent seizure of power and dictatorship maintained by terror.

Let us suggest that hereafter all such appeals print as an appendix a statement entitled "Pious Pl vs. Class Struggle," issued by C. A. Hathaway, man of the National Communist Campaign Co tee, on October 22, and published in the *Daily W* on October 26. It must be said for Mr. Hat that he leaves no room for doubt as to his conc of the Communist procedure for creating the n ciety. Let all intellectuals ponder his words:

> Norman Thomas, by his own confession, is a pacifist. is one who would have the working class take a blow or cheek and, then, without resistance, meekly turn the o He would have us accept one wage cut without a fight i hope that the bosses, seeing the suffering brought by the would sympathetically withhold a second. This middle- Gandhist nonsense is what Thomas is propagating in this tion campaign.
>
> In a speech recently delivered before the Commonw Club in San Francisco, Thomas declared: "If we are to class strife from becoming literal class war in a countr 13,000,000 unemployed . . . there is no time to lose. It the one hope of orderly and peaceful social change in Am that I have been so insistently pushing the Socialist prog and the Socialist organization in America." . . .
>
> Karl Marx, the founder of scientific socialism, . . . ha cowardly pacifist shiver up his spine at the thought of r intense class struggle; on the contrary, Marx saw the stru of the workers taking on constantly higher and sharper fo —from the simplest struggle for higher wages to the rev tionary struggle for State power—as the guarantee for final victory of socialism. In the Communist Manifesto, w ten jointly by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, they st "In depicting the most general phases of the developmen the proletariat, we traced *the more or less veiled civil* raging within existing society, up to the point where that breaks out into *open revolution,* and where the *violent o throw* of the bourgeoisie lays the foundation for the swa the proletariat. . . ."
>
> Wm. Z. Foster, the Communist presidential candidate his book "Toward Soviet America," put the question cle and sharply. He declares: "The capitalists will never vol tarily give up control of society and abdicate their system exploiting the masses. . . . The capitalists will not give of their own accord; nor can they be talked, bought or vo out of power. To believe otherwise would be a deadly fa ism, disarming and paralyzing the workers in their dea struggle. No ruling class ever surrendered to a rising sub class without a last ditch open fight. . . ."
>
> Norman Thomas, with his pacifism, is not weakening assault of the bosses against the workers; he is only attem ing to disarm the workers, to break their resistance.

Violent revolution and dictatorship maintained terror: this *is* the Communist method of building new economic order. And so we appeal for frank in campaign manifestoes issued by intellectuals in half of Communist candidates.

as Brailsford sees it

Why the League Disappoints

THE thirteenth session of the League of Nations Assembly is led, and nothing on the ernational horizon is nged. This is in itself a table fact. For about e weeks the delegations of all the peoples of the rth, with the important exceptions of the United tes and Russia, have sat in Geneva and talked, d from their deliberations nothing has resulted at we need remember. At the opening sitting Mr. e Valera, who found himself by rotation in the air, made in dead silence an unusual speech, in hich he told the League that its habits of evasion d postponement were filling its best friends with spair. If he had been present on the last day he ould have found nothing to withdraw.

One can, indeed, make certain technical excuses for is unparalleled record of futility. This Assembly uld not touch the major international problems at concern us. Disarmament is the affair of its ecial conference, to which belongs the discredit for e worst fumbling in the long record of inter-tional meetings. The Council silenced it on the bject of Manchuria by consenting to postpone the iscussion of the Lytton Report for another month. conomic problems have been relegated to a separate nference, which is expected to meet in January. ot much remained which the League might touch. one the less, with a nearly empty agenda, it post-oned the big question of the rights of national inorities in Europe, though this is one of its espe-al concerns. Rarely was that question more urgent. he royal dictatorship of the South Slav kingdom is cing what seems to be a serious armed revolt of e Croats, because it governs, brutally and stupidly, the sole interest of the dominant Serb race. The oles have just carried out their annual military perations to crush the discontent of their "Little ussian" subjects in Galicia. The oppressions to hich their German subjects are exposed are among e causes which explain the revival of the old Junker ilitarism in Berlin. The problem, however, is as norny and difficult as it is urgent, and so the Assem-y left it to another occasion.

What it actually did is soon told. It admitted the ingdom of Irak to membership as an independent tate. That is in the main a matter for congratula-tion. Few of us supposed that the mandates with which the victors of the Great War camouflaged their conquests would end so promptly. Yet here is Irak, after thirteen years of tutelage, standing on her feet as an Arab kingdom, bound, it is true, to the British Empire by a military alliance, which may not be wholly voluntary, and free, at least on paper, to do as she pleases, save that the British air force has certain rights to land and fly. But the League has, I think, taken a somewhat complacent view of the international politics of Irak. Its population teems with minorities, none of them contented, and of these the most numerous, the Kurds, have in the past been subjugated only with the help of the British Air Force, which made a practice of peppering their villages with delayed-action bombs—abominable inventions which explode when the unsuspecting tribesmen suppose that all danger is over. The League has taken its duties towards these simple people much too lightly. For the rest it set up a permanent committee to "liquidate" (as Russians would say) the rather numerous relics of slavery that still survive in backward regions where the superior merits of the capitalist system as a means of exploiting labor are as yet imperfectly grasped. With what measure of zeal this committee will work remains to be seen. It may display exemplary boldness, for no Great Power retains this obsolete technique.

WHAT this Assembly did with great enthusiasm was to economize. One cannot say that it succeeded in this effort. Certainly it cut its own budget and reduced the salaries of its employees by 10 per cent. It spent, however, so much time upon this effort that the extra allowances due to its delegates more than balance what they saved from other people's incomes. They added, moreover, to the more highly paid posts, which are of peculiar interest to the Great Powers. I will not recount in detail the doubtless instructive debates by which each of these Powers demonstrated the exclusive claim of one of its own citizens to hold one of these desirable posts. In the end a perfectly symmetrical arrangement was reached, which neatly provided one highly salaried post each for a Frenchman, a Briton, a

German, an Italian, and a Japanese, and implicitly recognized the unfitness of candidates whose governments own fewer warships, tanks and bombing airplanes, to perform the lofty pacific functions rewarded on the higher scale.

In the process of making these somewhat negative economies, the League destroyed what once had been the nucleus of an international civil service. I knew the League's Secretariat well in its earlier years. It included some men of unusual ability, notably Sir Arthur Salter, who has retired, and Dr. Rajchman of the Health Section, who remains. They were enthusiasts for the idea that the League embodies. They formed among themselves a perfectly cosmopolitan society which surveyed the world impartially. Each left behind him when he entered this society his national standpoint and worked for the common good. They talked in this intimate circle with perfect frankness, and discussed the doings of the governments of their own countries with the objectivity of neutrals. All this is now a thing of the past. The various officials whose salaries are now so happily adjusted, will be the representatives in Geneva of the Great Powers, their spokesmen, the custodians of their interests. The League has lost the chance of creating a true international civil service. That cannot exist if its members remain, after their entry, the protégés of the Great Powers, which see in the posts they occupy and the salaries they receive the measure of their own grandeur.

MR. DE VALERA was painfully right: the League has become a disappointment. If anyone asks why, the scene that took place as Mr. De Valera made his unpalatable remarks may supply the explanation. No one ventured to applaud, though I could name more than one distinguished member of his audience who is wont to say the same thing in private. The Assembly withheld even the usual encouraging cheers which conferences commonly bestow on their chairman when he rises. That was, I conjecture, because the Assembly knew that Mr. De Valera is engaged in a hot dispute with the British Empire. It might have been risky to applaud the adversary of a Great Power. In that spirit, more surely than in any other factor, lies the chief explanation of the futility of the League. This is not a league of nations: it is a hierarchy of governments, rich and poor, armed and unarmed, creditor and debtor. I do not know how it happens, but I can vouch for it: on this quiet inland lake, when the Assembly is in session, there are visible spectral warships which fly the Union Jack. On a misty day I can assure you that the façade of the commonplace hotel where the British delegates lodge looks surprisingly like the Bank of England, and once in the darkness I fancied that I heard the Grenadiers changing guard. Geneva is not the simple Swiss that it seems to be. Here are empires, invested w all the majesty of gunpowder and credit. The d gations speak and vote under an amusing conven of equality, but in fact half of them must bor from London to build their warships, while the ot half stand at the doors of French banks when t need guns.

THE League accordingly is dominated by th two Great Powers, with Germany sulking Italy waiting for the hour of catastrophe. When chance—it has only happened once—governments the Left are simultaneously in office in London Paris, it hums with activity, it hopes and schem for humanity. But a Tardieu in Paris or a Sim in London can paralyze it. Once or twice in history a rare personality has arisen among lesser nations who talked like a free citizen of world and failed to notice the warships on the l or the phantom banks. But Nansen is dead. As the Great Powers, they do not need the Leag they seek security elsewhere.

I have sometimes wondered whether a f improvements in the constitution of this Lea might bring reality to its debates. It might do bett if, as the Swiss proposed in its early days, the Co cil were to be elected individually by the Assemb If it were free to choose a dozen men for th faith in international ideals, without regard to th nationality, we might secure a Council loyal to t conception of the League. As things stand tod Sir John Simon enters the Council as he enters own office in Downing Street, to forward the int ests of the British Empire, and since the official r resentatives of the other Great Powers act invariabl in the same spirit, it is not surprising that no int national policy of action emerges from their del erations. I have dreamed that the national delega tions might be chosen proportionately by the part of the national parliaments, and freed from the ri that they must vote and sit as national units. imagine the gradual formation of internatio groups across the frontiers that now reproduce the floor of the Assembly the maps drawn at V sailles. A Socialist Party would soon form itself. world parliament cannot function on the old-wor basis of exclusive sovereign states. We must behind them and call up the masses of these natio to override their nationalism. But these are fa tasies. At Geneva it is the masters of the world navies who meet. The power complex will n vanish until we disarm.

N. N. Brailsford

London, October 21, 1932

British Pacifists and the Revolution

A. FENNER BROCKWAY AND R. M. ENTWISTLE

PACIFISTS are now challenged not only by the danger of international war but by the prospect of social revolution. It is impossible to rvey the economic and political conditions of the orld without realizing that we have passed into a volutionary period. The world-wide breakdown of e present economic system—its mounting unemployent, its falling standards of life, its collapsed indus-es and agriculture; the strained situation in Europe, ntred upon the class conflict in Germany; the strug-e of the Indian and Chinese peoples against British d Japanese imperialism; the danger of war against ussia, beginning perhaps in the Far East, but xtending inevitably to Europe; the contrast between e construction of the new Soviet order and the estruction of the old capitalist system—these repre-nt forces which will shake the world into big, eedy and decisive changes. Is there a place for cifism in this revolutionary period? What part e pacifists to take in it?

In an international war between capitalist powers e decision of a pacifist is simple. He resists. In imperialist war against a subject people, the cision is easy for the pacifist of the imperialist ountry—he resists; *not* so easy for one of the ppressed people. The Indian National Congress has obably shown the most effective action; non-olent civil disobedience cannot be scorned because has not yet succeeded—the failure of violent sistance by an unarmed people to the scientific maments of Britain would, at least, have been as rtain.

But when we approach the social revolution we e faced by more complicated problems. Every sin-re and clear-minded pacifist must identify himself th the *object* of a revolution to substitute social-m for capitalism. War is an incidental denial of cifism; *Capitalism is the permanent denial.* Capi-lism kills and mutilates more human beings than ar. Capitalism destroys the best in human person-ity more than does war. The very basis of capi-lism is class domination conflict.

Capitalism incarnates the principles of war; it has e results of war. It is not so dramatic, its horrors e not so obvious—but every day that passes it is arving men, women and children in the midst of enty; it is crushing the mind and imprisoning the irit of millions; it is beating down the workers d peasants of the world to hunger conditions in rder to maintain the profits and power of the possessing class. That is war—war as damnable and unnecessary as military conflict. The pacifist who resists war and acquiesces in capitalism is as futile as the hygienist who refuses to drink poisoned water from a stream whilst allowing the rotting carcase to remain in the spring which is its source.

No—the pacifist must be in the thick of the struggle. He believes that the transformation from capitalism to socialism *could* be made by pacifist methods, but he realizes that it could only so be made by a pacifist population. He knows that there is no population in the world that is pacifist. He doesn't therefore repudiate his fellow men and women. He joins them in the struggle, no less determined on its purpose than they, and seeks to contribute the mind and technique which will enable it to be carried through successfully with the maximum of non-violence which the conditions of the struggle and the psychology of the population allow.

LET me briefly apply this in policy. An undoubted initial advantage in preventing violence in a revolutionary situation would be control of the legislative and administrative machinery of the State. I say "initial," because I do not believe that even parliamentary and municipal majorities would necessarily mean avoidance of a revolutionary situation; the dominating class is not likely even under such circumstances to give up its privileges and possessions without a struggle. But the menace of violence would be much less if the control of the military and civil forces of the State were wrested from the dominating class before the final struggle began. The pacifist must, therefore, strain every effort to secure a resolute socialist control of the governmental and adminstrative machinery of the State before the crisis arises.

But we must not close our eyes to the likelihood of the crisis arising before such control is obtained. The crisis may arise by resistance to the intolerable deterioration of the standards of life of the working class under capitalism. Such action on a nation-wide scale may begin as resistance to wage reductions, but it will inevitably develop into a struggle between the working-class and the government, between capitalism and socialism.

The crisis may arise by organized mass resistance to the danger of war. Such action on a nation-wide scale may begin as refusal to answer the call to the colors or to carry on industry or transport

for war purposes, but it will inevitably develop into a struggle between the working-class and the government, between capitalism and socialism. In both these circumstances the forces of the State, the civil service, and a voluntary service manned largely from the public schools (much of it trained in the cadet corps) will be under the command of the government. How can pacifist policy be applied to overcome them?

Let us look at both sides—the resisting side and the dominating side. On the resisting side the first essential in any mass withdrawal of labor is an instrument of self-disciplined control. That will only be possible if there is organization, organization in close touch with the life of the people themselves. I cannot develop the subject here, but I believe that trade union organization must be supplemented by street-by-street organization in direct touch with the daily lives of the people, able to inform them and direct them, enabling them to act unitedly, *to control and discipline themselves.* Out of chaos violence springs. Every contribution to organization is a contribution to the limitation of the danger of violence.

Secondly, organization must be prepared to provide the food-supplies of the people. Here the coöperative movement can be of immense value, and everyone who is seeking to prepare it for such a crisis is making a contribution which will limit the menace of violence. The organization of the transport will also be necessary.

BUT at this point we must turn our attention to the dominating side. Suppose they surround the docks and the food warehouses with troops and only allow its distribution to the "loyalist" section of the population? The first comment upon this possibility is that if the resistance is of overwhelming strength, it would be very difficult for any government to maintain a food boycott of the mass of its population. But pacifist technique must not rest content with this hope. *It must definitely apply itself to the limitation of the power of the dominating class to use violence.*

The vast majority of the regular forces come from the working class. Most of them are driven into the army and navy through unemployment and poverty. However much the government seeks to shield the members of the forces from propaganda, it cannot separate them from the influence of their homes. The dominating class may not find the regular forces as dependable as it imagines in a revolutionary situation, and once they begin to add their resistance to the resistance of the working class the power of the dominating class has gone. As for the civil service, it is already deeply colored with socialism and there is no reason to suppose that this process will not continue.

I do not claim that the technique which I have sketched answers all the difficulties of the pacifist faced by the problem of revolution; but let me say this in conclusion: My purpose is not to satisfy the pacifist conscience—it is to *stir* the pacifist conscience. The careful reader will realize that. The implications of the policy I have outlined challenge us to show a resolution not less than that shown by pacifists during the War. As I write these words the conviction comes to me that we must not long postpone the acceptance of that challenge.

A. FENNER BROCKWAY

Can Socialists Remain Pacifists?

IN a recent issue of the *Adelphi* Mr. Middleton Murry raised an issue of first-rate importance to all those who are both pacifists and Socialists. He bluntly stated his belief that it is not possible to be at the same time a complete pacifist and a complete Socialist. The complete pacifist he defines as one who is determined not to have resort to force whether in person or by deputy, whether for compelling others or for resisting compulsion by others. The complete Socialist, on the other hand, is the man who is determined to establish complete equality of economic condition *by any means likely to be effective in a given country.*

Now it is quite evident that in certain circumstances these two principles may come into conflict. In such a case, Mr. Murry tells us, a Socialist who is also a pacifist will be forced to choose between the two rival principles, and if he is a genuine and complete Socialist, in Murry's views, he will abandon his pacifism as, in those circumstances, Utopian, and take whatever action is necessary to achieve the Socialist state.

The increasingly rapid breakdown of capitalist society, unaccompanied by any correspondingly rapid growth of parliamentary Socialist power, may quite easily lead us into such confusion and chaos that out of impotence and despair masses of people may turn to violence as the only solution. On the other hand, the forces of reaction, entrenched within the fortifications of property and finance, driven by the severity of the world crisis into even more desperate measures of self-defence, may quite easily, in the end, resort to armed force to preserve their authority and possessions.

What is the pacifist-Socialist going to do in such circumstances? Is he going to let the storm sweep by, possibly to the hopeless defeat of his Socialist ideals. A defeat made more certain by his own pacifist impotence? If he is, can he claim to be a real Socialist?

But supposing the Socialist movement triumphs, whether via parliament or by way of direct action,

t is the pacifist-Socialist going to do then? For s very probable that a revolutionary Socialist ernment, taking over private industry, land, and ital, will meet with armed resistance internally, armed attack from other nations, as happened the case of Russia.

Can a pacifist consistently support a Socialist e that is defending its new-won power against mies within and without, *by armed force?*

No pacifist, unless he is also an anarchist, repu-es all use of force by the State, e.g., the implicit ce underlying the compulsion of negligent land-ds to put their property in decent condition, of seholders to pay rents, and persons of sufficient ome to pay income tax. In dealing with the crim- and the insane, there are innumerable cases ere "force" has to be used, and is used benefi-tly (more or less). Even when all criminals are ated by psycho-analysis intead of by our present de methods, there will still be an element of rce" required. In my view it is simply absurd contend that all these varied expressions of rce" are on the same moral plane; just as it is culous to argue, as many did during the War, that rist's cleansing of the Temple was the moral ivalent of shelling an enemy town with lyddite. t is quite true, however, that the pacifist does udiate the use of armed force in a revolutionary ation. He cannot bring himself to use violence ner to achieve or defend socialism. Logically, therefore, he ought to be opposed to all use of force, whether by police or military, to defend the "rights of property" which constitute the Achilles' heel of the present capitalist order. We have no right to repudiate "force" as a means to socialism and at the same time applaud or in any way condone the force that is increasingly being used at the present time to resist the legitimate claims of unemployed and other hard-pressed men and women. For this "force" is in reality being used by the police in their capacity (which is not their only capacity) as defenders of the capitalist State.

Has the pacifist-Socialist considered, has Mr. Murry considered, in any thorough fashion, the possibility of a severely non-violent technique of social revolution? Is not the only possible answer of the pacifist-Socialist, who is neither a hypocrite nor a muddle-head, to Mr. Murry's dilemma, that almost anything could be accomplished by a big mass movement organized for the achievement of a Socialist State, on strictly non-violent lines, and with the thoroughness of a Gandhi?

Such a mass movement, willing to sacrifice everything for the Socialist ideal, could reduce a "National" Government to impotence, or with equal effectiveness support a Socialist government against its enemies, by the sheer force of non-coöperation exercised at the crucial points.

R. M. ENTWISTLE

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Back of the Spanish Revolution

H. C. ENGELBRECHT

THE historian of the Spanish Revolution of 1931 had better begin with the Spanish-American War of 1898. It is hardly necessary say that this disaster deprived Spain of almost of her remaining colonial empire and that it nonstrated beyond doubt the fact generally sus-cted, that Spain had become a second-rate power. What has been usually overlooked is that the r of 1898 also marked the beginning of a national ival in Spain. Even previous to 1898 national phets began a searching self-analysis of the anish soul. The loss of the war accelerated and ensified the movement. It was not merely a mat- of finding a scapegoat for the defeat, nor the dulgence in fruitless accusation and recrimination. was the dawn of a new national consciousness. heralds were the thinkers and philosophers in the universities. Some of them are now known to the English-speaking world, especially Unamuno, Rafael Altamira and later, Ortega y Gasset. Others are hardly ever heard of beyond the boundaries of Spain, such as Angel Ganivet, Picavea, Luis Morote, and Ramiro de Maetzu.

These men, or some at least, rejoiced that Spain had lost its colonies which had drained off so much of the country's national energies, and they determined that the attention and labors of the nation should be devoted to rebuilding Spain itself. Some of them attacked the church as a parasite: "If we could only get rid of our monks as easily as our colonies." They subjected Spanish institutions and the Spanish temper to a merciless criticism, some emerging deeply pessimistic, others highly optimistic. They attacked Spanish "individualism" or "anarch-

ism" which somehow did not know how to unite for common action and common goals, but lost itself in localism: "We have produced a thousand rebellions and seditions, but not one fruitful revolution." Finally they called for a cultural revival by letting in some fresh air from other countries.

Before long these ideas were translated into programs for political and economic reform. The last thirty years have shown a slow but persistent development. The economic revival of Spain, as mirrored in the statistical reports of agriculture, industry, and commerce, has frequently been commented upon. The political developments and their significance are just as outstanding. Many efforts were made to reform the system of taxation and with some success. The Local Government Act of 1918 which gave to every commune its own *ayuntamiento* and to each of the 49 provinces a *diputacion provincial* virtually created local self-government throughout the country. Rapidly the Spaniard learned to administer the affairs that concerned him most, and observers generally agree that he performed this task very efficiently.

Great attention was paid to education and thousands of new schools were established. Illiteracy, though still very high, has steadily declined. Finally —and this is highly important—in 1899 the Socialists were organized, and they have definitely been counted a power since 1904.* They were never very numerous, but they joined hands with the republicans and supplied a definite program for social and political reorganization.

THE Opposition to the reform and revival program was made up chiefly of three groups: the nobility, the church and the army. The nobility were the wealthy, the great landowners, the industrial barons. Their wealth was concentrated chiefly in the cork, olive and wine industries, the three major industries of Spain. In some cases they were literally feudal lords who held whole villages in medieval serfdom. Quite naturally they feared any change that might destroy their irresponsible wealth.

The Spanish army was probably the most overofficered in the world—one officer to every four men. The officer's position was a sort of sinecure. The army was politically powerful because it was frequently called upon to put down rebellion. Furthermore, it was the source and recipient of enormous graft. All of which was reason enough for the army to oppose any change.

The church in Spain presents a long and difficult story. All through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries there has been growing hostility to the religious orders of the Catholic Church. These orders possessed great wealth and were looked upon with s picion and hatred. In the course of the nineteer century they were suppressed four times and th properties were confiscated—and always the mo archy restored them. The higher clergy and t religious orders allied themselves and were identifi with the monarchy and the privileged classes, whi means that republicanism and socialism were vir ally synonymous with anti-clericalism. Spain is Catholic country, but this did not prevent the op opposition of loyal Catholics to the political a social program of the church leaders.

Here then we have in large strokes the bac ground of the Spanish Revolution. It at on becomes clear that the revolution of 1931 is mere a continuation or the climax of the developments the last 30 years. The revolution is trying to co serve the reforms already achieved and to institu others which have long been sought. It is not a ne and outlandish plant that has found lodgment in fo eign soil; it is decidedly an indigenous growth th has been carefully nurtured for many years.

THE student of the sociology of revolutions w also be interested in observing that the Spani Revolution did not follow a catastrophe marking t lowest point of national decline. It was not the a of despair of a people in the "lower depths", but occurred on the rising line of national life, whi social, economic, and cultural conditions were impro ing. It is thus a parallel to the French Revoluti of 1789 and not to the Russian Revolution of 191

The Spanish Revolution has found many frien and sympathizers, because it was a "moderate" rev lution. There was comparatively little bloodshe though there was a continued use and threat of forc There was no Reign of Terror with its thousan of guillotined victims, no Marie Antoinette Citizen Capet executed on the scaffold. The majo events of the revolt were carried off with an orde liness and discipline seldom equaled.

In another sense, however, the revolution was n "moderate." Its goals and its present achievement are thorough-going, radical, Socialist. Its constiti tion is more modern than that of any state outsid of Russia. Though its leaders are divided on man questions, there is as yet no indication that its pr gram has become diluted by bourgeois ideology Many things remain to be done, but thus far th Spanish Revolution is an excellent example of ho a Socialist revolution may be carried out: by co certed mass action and by legislation, without unneces sary harshness, yet also without sentimental leniency radical, yet building on its own foundations.

The purpose of this article is to show the historica continuity of the Spanish Revolution. Under thi category the recent grant of autonomy to Cataloni

* It is worth noting that the Spanish national revival was also evident in arts and letters. Names like Sorolla, Zuloaga, and Anglada-Camarasa in art, and Benavente, Valdés, Ibáñez, Echegaray, Bazán, Baroja, Valle-Inclán and Azorín in literature reflect this movement.

o finds a place. The Catalans are a perfect exam- of a sub-nationality. Their historic traditions ude a long and glorious period of independence. ey speak a different language from the "Castilian," l more closely allied to Provençal. They have o an economic basis for sub-nationalism in their de and industry. The Catalan was always in rebel- n against the bureaucratic Castilian who ruled him fficiently and at great cost from Madrid. Much this was changed by the Local Government Act 1918. When the revolution came, Madrid again umed much power, because the Socialists tried to ıtralize the country for political and economic reasons. But the Catalans did not wish to submit to the rule of Madrid, no matter who was in power. Hence the threatening agitation for autonomy and the graceful yielding of the Madrid government despite the alarums of conservative papers that national unity was being destroyed. The Basques, too, are agitating for the same privileges, but since the Basque provinces are still very royalist, it is doubtful whether autonomy will be granted there. The significant point, however, is that the whole autonomy movement, as well as the revolution of 1931, has its solid basis in Spanish traditions and especially in the achievements of the last 30 years.

An Unposed Picture of Capitalism

As Portrayed in a Single Issue of the Philadelphia *Record*

STAPLES SAYS JOBS OF IDLE HAVE BEEN TAKEN BY MACHINES

Warns Thousands Will Never Return to Work—Discusses Remedy.

Tens of thousands of Philadelphia's unemployed are never going back to work—because machinery has taken away their jobs.

That was the highlight of an address by Philip C. Staples, chairman of the Philadelphia County Relief Board and vice president of the Bell Telephone Company, at a luncheon of the Electrical Association of Philadelphia in the Bellevue-Stratford yesterday.

And he emphasized that it is squarely up to the leaders of industry to solve the vital problem of the mechanization of business and not to the legislators of the nation.

"Of the hundreds of thousands of people out of work in Philadelphia today, thousands and thousands of them are never going back to work—and you gentlemen know it," he declared.

"They will be dead before there will be enough work for them all. Many Philadelphia industries were in 1929 about ready for a full program of machine production. The machines have been installed and are waiting. When the next big bulge comes along, they will turn. These machines will take the place of human hands.

"Who is going to provide for these unneeded workers? Is the State? Laws can be written that will take care of them. Who can stop such laws? Nobody but business. There is

Continued on Page 14, Column 1.

Millionaires' Club Meets Tonight—for 250 Members

Third Annual Northern Dinner to Precede Inspection of Finest Private Art Collection in America at Home of Joseph E. Widener.

By F. W. NORCROSS

The two hundred and fifty leaders in America's business and industrial world who will be entertained by Joseph E. Widener at Lynnewood Hall, Elkins Park, tonight will inspect the finest private art collection in America. In fact, it is the last of the great American private collections since J. Pierpont Morgan's was dispersed to museums.

The guests comprise a social club, consisting of millionaires who have winter homes at Miami Beach, or who visit Floridian waters in their palatial yachts. It will be their third Northern annual dinner—the first having been held in the Biltmore

Lynnewood Hall is a treasure house upon which Joseph E. Widener and his father, the late P. A. B. Widener, street-railway magnate, have spent unnumbered millions. Its reputation is so great that this Northern

Lynnewood Hall is a large and stately edifice, with a perfect Georgian facade, including an imposing portico supported by six huge Corinthian columns. The house has a setting of ideal landscape gardening—this being one of Widener's hobbies—with a fountain in front containing sculptured Tritons and mermaids—boxwood trees, stone cherubs and geometrical lines of hedge, while the estate extends off in parklike proportions in the rear.

An 18th century room of French works of art contains a celebrated Boucher tapestry, almost covering an entire wall, while Houdon busts, flowered Chinese vases and Louis XV chairs from the palace at Versailles recall the days of Madame Du Barry, her pet monkeys and the dissolute French King who once exclaimed, "After me, the deluge."

The guests will see the Raphael Room containing superb Italian canvasses and two masterpieces—a small Raphael Madonna, from the Lord Cowper collection, and the Mazarin tapestry, which was once the prized possession of Louis XIII's minister, Cardinal Mazarin. In this room is "Jud[illegible]h and Holofernes," by Mantag-

The dining room in which the 250 visitors will face their genial host across the tables is remarkable for its dark red Flemish tapestries alternating with slabs of mottled gray marble. A bust of the Prince de Conde will gaze down from above the stone fireplace at Widener and America's business barons.

The smoking room contains portraits of P. A. B. Widener and Mrs. Josephine Widener by John S. Sargent and busts by Houdon. The library is famous for its literary treasures—the Gutenberg Bible, which P. A. B. Widener bought "cheap" for $30,000, the first four Shakespeare folios, in excellent condition, and an "Alice in Wonderland," with original sketches by Tenniel.

Here also is Joseph Widener's collection of sports literature, the finest and most complete in America.

As is well known, Joseph E. Widener is one of the world's greatest sportsmen. He built one of the most beautiful racetracks in the world at Hialeah, near Miami, Florida, at a cost of $1,500,000; he owns the Belmont track, is largely interested in the Saratoga track and has breeding farms for race horses in Kentucky, in England and in France.

Not in the

Hoover Seeking Militarist Support

Assistant Secretary of War Payne, addressing the annual convention of the National Guard Association on behalf of President Hoover's candidacy, lauded the President as the champion of national defense appropriations and attacked the Democrats as pacifists. He called on the National Guard to "insist that military appropriations be spent for a national defense that really defends." He quoted Hoover as pledging an army and navy that "guarantees that no foreign soldier will land on American soil" and asserted that "such a ringing declaration should receive the whole-hearted support of every patriotic American."

Britain Tries Isolation

Every letter that passes through the British post office is stamped with the admonition "Buy British!" The machines which do the stamping bear the label "Made in U.S.A."

The Writing on the Wall

The *Magazine of Wall Street* advises utility companies to support federal regulation of holding companies as their best defense against "a savage reaction in the direction of public ownership." It declares: "The Insulls have betrayed private initiative and independence of management of the utilities to the bureaucrats. It will be both foolish and useless for the masters of power consolidation to oppose the rising demand for potent federal regulation of holding companies."

Prison for Belgian War-Resister

A Belgian war resister, Roger Simoens, was sentenced for the third time on October 6 to ten months' imprisonment by a military court for refusal to perform war service for reasons of conscience. War resisters all around the world admire the intelligence and bravery with which Roger Simoens has presented his case to the authorities. He is in serious condition due to a hunger strike which he commenced on the 27th of September and has been continuing. He can be aided, so says the War Resisters' International, by cabling protests and demands for his release to Mr. Crockaert, Ministre de Defence Nationale, Bruxelles, Belgium.

Labor and the Socialist Vote

"Large Socialist Straw Vote Surprises Political Leaders" is the eight-column banner headline carried by *Labor,* political organ of railroad workers, above its front-page caption, in the issue of October 18. The article discusses the votes for Norman Thomas as revealed by the Literary Digest poll, and points out that twice as many of his votes came from former Republicans as from former Democrats. It notes also the Digest's discovery that Thomas's total of 106,352 (up to that date) has a higher percentage of first voters than has that of Roosevelt or Hoover. The inference is that Thomas is taking the youth away from the capitalistic parties.

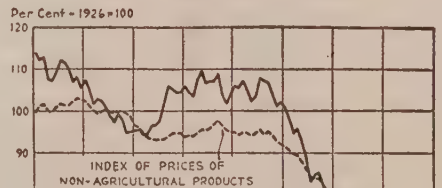
Record-Breaking Foreclosures

September, reports covering which have now been made available, broke all previous records for dollar totals for foreclosures of mortgages on homes and other property in Cook County, Illinois, of which Chicago is the county seat. The number of foreclosures was 1,385 in September, while the average monthly foreclosures in the period 1926 to 1928 inclusive were 132, or about one-tenth the high record of this September.

Bombing for Charity

The First Bombardment Wing of the Pacific Coast will give a public demonstration of tactical bombing, according to an announcement by Lieut. Col. H. H. Arnold, as a feature of the aerial demonstration to be held "for charitable purposes" at Long Beach Municipal Airport.

Why Farmers Strike



Prices of farm products as compared with non-agricultural products. (From the *Pacific Company Digest.*)

German Strikes

The latest emergency decree of the Ge man cabinet permitting employers to c wages to a certain extent without a negotiations with the unions, provided th they take on a certain percentage of ne men, brought strikes all over German In spite of the depression most of the strikes were successful, especially those Hamburg, Leipzig, the Ruhr district, a several plants of the Berlin metal industr

Postal Savings Reach New High

Dwindling of public confidence in spec lative investments is indicated by the $1 000,000 increase in postal savings deposi for the single month of September. At t end of that month total deposits reache $854,767,262 as compared with $844,853 770 at the end of August, according figures made public by the Post Office D partment. The September figure for th year, an "all-time peak," exceeds that last September by $45,929,139.

Socialist Education

Since the campaign began, the Socialist have sold 6,637,684 pieces of Socialist lit erature, Chicago headquarters report Almost a million copies of the Socialis platform have been sold.

Economic Intelligence

Kokichi Mikimoto, pearl culture king shoveled 720,000 pearls into a furnace i the presence of 20 pearl dealers at th Kobe Chamber of Commerce. The pea culturists now hope for a profit of mor than $1,000,000 through the rise in price

Charity Cases Vote in Chicago

Unlike the state of Maine, where un employed workers on public relief hav been disenfranchised in the election, th Chicago unemployed, through the pressur of their organizations, have won the un disputed right to vote in any election Attorney E. F. Dunne, of the Board o Election Commissioners, in a lengthy opinion has ruled: "All citizens not con victed of crime, irrespective of their finan cial conditions, paupers or money princes have the right to vote, but must vote in the precinct where they have their resi dence." This decision goes on to class a a "residence" any shelter for the unem ployed where a jobless worker who has lived in the same county for 90 days has dwelt for 30 days up to election day.

Headlines

cialism in Denmark

The Socialist-Democratic-Radical coal-on government in Denmark has been in ce for more than three years. The par-l elections to the upper house in Sep-nber provided the first opportunity of omitting the work of the Stauning gov-ment to the test of popular approval. a test of the position of the govern-nt with the people, the elections were a ccess for the Socialists and Radicals. e two government parties secured tween them 281,486 votes of which 1,594 went to the Social Democrats. is constituted a majority for the gov-ment of over 22,000 votes. However, e reactionary constitution of the upper use prevented the elections from being success so far as breaking the power the upper house is concerned. By a ak of election results a tie between rties has again resulted in a complete lemate.

abor Party's New Chief

George Lansbury, Labor leader in the ouse of Commons, has been elected head the Labor Party, succeeding Arthur enderson, who resigned. Clement Attlee as elected deputy leader.

oover Literature eaches 25 Tons a Day

The Republican headquarters in Chicago sending out about 25 tons of campaign erature a day to elect Hoover. Twenty llion pieces of publicity matter have en issued containing 20 billion words.

dians Protested opping Gandhi Talks

That leading Indian moderates, as well supporters of the National Congress, l not readily acquiesce in the decision the British government to allow no fur-er conversations between Gandhi and dian leaders following Gandhi's success-l fast, has been made known through blication of a telegram sent to Mr. Hy. L. Polak by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, e celebrated moderate spokesman. Mr. pru said: "Please convey Indian concili-on group other friends that while en-rsing their appreciation prompt response Prime Minister and government to ona Pact, I share their regret and sense appointment at stoppage interviews th Mahatma Gandhi. We talked him iefly on general situation and believe rther exchange of ideas would have led storation conducive joint work. . . ."

Thirty Ministers Back Thomas

A statement supporting the candidacy of Norman Thomas for President has been signed by 30 Methodist Episcopal ministers of New England and the Middle West. The statement, made public by the Rev. Frank Kingdon, of East Orange, N. J., said in part: "In this campaign he [Norman Thomas] alone is frankly facing the issues of the ethical and economic weaknesses of our present system and of the growth of a militaristic and nationalistic organized Fascism in the United States."

Near the Capitol Dome

After cutting down allowances for destitution relief in the District of Columbia to the lowest possible weekly sum, the Board of Public Welfare determined on October 12 that it could not make its remaining funds of $208,000 last longer than the end of December. "We cannot reduce it further without being futile and cruel," said Director George Wilson.

Investigate Negro Labor Conditions

A commission has been appointed by President Hoover to investigate and report on charges that have been made concerning labor conditions affecting Negroes engaged in Federal flood control work on the lower Mississippi. The commission is headed by Dr. Robert R. Moton, of Tuskegee Institute, and consists further of Judge James A. Cobb, Mr. Eugene Knickle Jones and Lt. Col. U. S. Grant.

R.O.T.C. Objectors

Ennis Coale and Wayne Lees, students at the University of Maryland, have been suspended for refusal to undergo military drill. They have appealed to the Board of Regents. The Baltimore *Sun* argues that the University has no right to use taxpayers' money for military instruction which has no practical value except as propaganda for a militarist group.

Hungarian Socialists' Drive

The object of the membership campaign of the Socialist Party of Hungary, which was officially launched on October 1, is to enroll 10,000 new members of the Party and 10,000 new subscribers to the Party's journal, *Nepszava.* It is hoped to accomplish this result by November 1. A campaign for membership run off last spring brought to *Nepszava* 25,000 new subscribers.

Peace Week

An experiment in educating the entire community in world peace and friendship met with great success in the small town of Canandaigua in western New York. The program enlisted the coöperation of the churches and the schools and included a public exhibit and pertinent moving pictures. The experiment is described in the November issue of the *International Journal of Religious Education.*

The Students Speak Out

The following chart is a composite tabulation of the various college student polls, including the one conducted by the *Daily Princetonian* as well as straw votes undertaken by individual universities:

College	Hoover	Roosevelt	Thomas	Foster
Amherst	358	71	85	0
Antioch	144	55	147	0
Ariz.	467	360	224	58
Ark.	78	522	15	0
Brown	750	255	73	0
Buff. S. T. C.	533	260	241	0
Calif.	933	331	460	27
Carnegie T.	808	421	326	21
Chicago U.	981	412	489	80
City Col., Detr.	438	346	360	43
Colgate	466	88	96	5
Colo. S. M.	105	77	117	4
Colo. U.	126	89	164	16
Columbia	833	547	1033	81
Cornell	1468	493	334	38
Dartmouth	1120	255	274	0
Eden Sem.	28	10	48	0
Fla. C. W.	302	968	23	0
Friends U.	84	26	33	0
Harvard	1211	395	386	23
Haverford	209	13	21	0
Ky. U.	145	204	58	0
Maine	656	200	129	2
Minn.	718	270	362	17
M. I. T.	1131	250	278	30
Nebr. U.	416	248	142	0
N. H. U.	310	170	55	1
N. Y. U.	668	768	800	138
N. C. U.	82	240	179	0
N. D. U.	380	236	64	0
Northwestern	988	298	277	64
Oberlin	844	102	274	9
Ohio State	2440	1025	1005	2
Okla. U.	358	576	194	27
Princeton	1392	425	283	17
Rollins	237	98	92	0
St. L. U.	17	2	52	0
San Mateo	22	2	25	0
Smith	843	146	269	8
S. C. U.	77	1640	9	0
S. D. U.	159	134	18	0
Sou. Cal.	526	337	104	0
Stanford	828	251	216	6
Syracuse	782	271	272	3
Tenn. U.	334	727	46	12
Tex. U.	235	1863	187	2
Tulane	93	243	91	2
Vassar	563	135	208	9
Vanderbilt	45	186	29	0
V. M. I.	115	436	27	0
Vt. U.	179	77	155	1
Wash. St.	478	278	112	10
Wash. U.	1198	533	246	7
Wellesley	376	48	83	0
Wesleyan	327	54	119	1
Williams	411	77	75	1
Wisc. U.	1481	1003	99	77
Yale	1415	370	347	8
Totals	32711	19967	11930	850

Reviving Radical Religion

EDWARD L. ISRAEL

A FEW months ago a group of Eastern clergymen visited the strike-embattled and starvation-ridden coal fields of Kentucky. A certain influential denomination to which several of these religious investigators belong has a bishop who presides over the diocese of Kentucky. During all those many months of strife and suffering he had said nothing concerning the miserable plight of hundreds of human beings in the coal fields that lay within the geographical boundaries of his religious domain. The forlorn struggle of starving men prompted him to no speech of condemnation of economic exploitation. The wails of undernourished children drew from him no cry of spiritual protest. It was only the dreadful story of human misery that was told by these visiting clergymen that finally evoked some utterance from his Grace. This official descendant of an institution erected in the spirit of Amos and Isaiah and Jesus finally spoke. His words were those of bitter condemnation. He denounced most vehemently; he excoriated pitilessly. But was it those responsible for the economic serfdom of the starving masses that he denounced? Did he excoriate those who, as the prophet has it, "buy the needy for a pair of shoes"? By no means! He denounced the visiting clergymen for their "gratuitous impertinence." He proclaimed that their unwarranted temerity in letting the world know the truth of the human misery of the Kentucky hills had "jeopardized the work of months, perhaps years, to come."

The paradox in the development of organized religion is glaringly evident. It has been stated again and again. It is this: The great spiritual founders of practically every modern faith have been religious and social radicals. They have challenged the existing order at every turn. Amos branded with the iron of ridicule and scorn the idle rich "kine of Bashan"; Isaiah hurled his invectives against those who built up gigantic monopolies. Even the ancient Mosaic law with its Utopian legislation concerning the Jubilee Year challenged the allegedly inalienable rights of property. Jesus of Nazareth cast a direct reproach upon the manner in which men acquire large accumulations of worldly goods when he uttered the famous epigram concerning the camel and the eye of the needle. One of the great tragedies in the development of the Christian church has been that it has tried to interpret the ethical teachings of Jesus by viewing some of the most radical of them merely as "counsels of perfection." They were not "counsels of perfection" in an technical and theoretical sense any more than wer the uncompromising social ethics of the prophets o Israel. They were a real and practical radicalism pure and simple, the radicalism that alone arouse the admiration of men in their better moments, an alone survives the ephemerality of so much that me in their less noble moments ridiculously label "eter nal" and "divine."

WE have to admit, to the shame of organize religion, that the great social advances whic have been inaugurated to cope with the problem arising from the Industrial Revolution have sprun from either non- or anti-religious sources. The pro tests against economic exploitation during the firs half of the nineteenth century had no strong back ing from organized religion. Individual voices lik those of Maurice and Kingsley were raised, but a far as current institutionalized religion was con cerned, theirs were voices crying in a relentlessly silen wilderness.

Lately, however, there has been much religious activity in the field of social justice. About 40 years ago, the papacy began to issue a series of docu ments proclaiming a sympathy with labor movement and denouncing various forms of economic injustice The present Pope has been especially frequent with his comments. In America, Roman Catholic bishops have also made noteworthy statements.

It is not my intention, here, to discuss the merits or demerits of the Roman Catholic social program We can merely note in passing that its chief weak ness arises from certain historical biases of the great church that espouses it. There is too much of a tendency to idealize medievalism and medieval insti tutions. There is also a great weakness in the lin gering, bitter antagonism against the word "social ism" because the sentiments of many Socialis founders and present-day members of the party have been anti-religious. Regardless of these defects, the various social attitudes of the Roman Catholi church constitute, in many respects, a bold approach to the task of righting economic injustice. They represent a definitely growing radicalism despite al official protestations to the contrary.

The attitude of Protestantism toward social re form, championed in this country foremost by the prophetic Rauschenbusch, has subsequently been de

oped by great spirits like Harry Ward and ncis J. McConnell, to mention only two of the standing leaders in the field today. The need for ourageous utterance by organized religion on the ject of social injustice was met through the vities of the Inter-Church World Movement, and r through certain departments of the Federal uncil of Churches of Christ in America. In the leral Council Social Creed, Protestantism boasts an ightened but by no means radical social program. e difficulties in the way of religious radicalism hin this group lie in the very nature of its organtion. It is composed of denominations widely ergent in their geographical and social backunds. A mean had to be struck. This mean, mark , is far more progressive than one could normally e for. It is a tribute to the spiritual courage of Council leadership. However, as with the Cathc and Jewish groups, its social idealism rarely ds the way, and more often follows in the wake a more radical non-religious or anti-religious nguard.

Individual Protestant bodies have their own social vice organizations in many instances. With the ception of the Methodist Federation for Social rvice, these groups are either conservative or libal rather than radical. They are, perhaps, far ead of the standard of social ideals of their lay nstituency, but they are still not sufficiently proessive to warrant the title of religious radicalism. ch radicalism as exists in these Protestant bodies just beginning to evidence itself, primarily in the ld of international relations, where pacifism is gaing strong ground. It is no longer an uncommon ing not only for individual ministers but for enominational groups as well to declare themselves, pacifists, in unqualified opposition to warfare as means of settling international disputes.

THE Jewish group, possibly because it was so greatly concerned with the problem of combatg prejudice amid a hostile world, and despite its reat prophetic heritage, was somewhat slower in sserting its social program. Not until 1918 did it egin its organized activities in this field through the entral Conference of American Rabbis, the official rganization of liberal Jewish ministers. Before that me, the deliberations of the Conference along the nes of social problems consisted of an occasional ndorsement of some progressive measure or the ndless and inefficacious discussions which seem to be he usual fruits of the peculiar genius of a delibrating body of ministers. It has, however, since 918, endeavored to make up for its tardiness. In ddition to a truly progressive social creed, the Cenral Conference of American Rabbis has adopted a strong pacifist attitude. Furthermore, in a vigorous statement, it has challenged the ethics of the whole profit system and, without becoming specific as to exact appelations, has put itself very strongly on the side of that economic interpretation which is usually termed socialistic.

An extraordinary fact of the growing radical attitude of organized religion is that here in America the religious expressions and activities as to industrial problems have been far more courageous than in European lands. This is despite the fact that America is markedly conservative, whereas in Europe the name "socialist," far from being a bugbear, is even adopted by reactionary groups like the Hitlerites in order to curry favor with the masses. In England there have been some manifestations of a practical social program on the part of religious groups such as the Lambeth Conferences and the Copec. There has been, however, very little concerted action in cases of industrial disputes and violations of civil liberties as in America. Moreover, such things as interreligious coöperation to attack economic evils is unheard of. In America the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the Federal Council of Churches and the Central Conference of American Rabbis now unite frequently in behalf of the victims of strikes and lockouts, of the violations of civil liberties or of the depredations of economic imperialism.

Despite its slow beginnings, religious radicalism is growing here in America. A Catholic priest leads an army of the unemployed. Ministers are jailed for defending strikers. Students of theological seminaries are arrested for "picketing." Hardly a radical movement but has its goodly share of professional religionists. Great conservative religious organizations are acting courageously radical in the face of a reactionary laity. Even the usually timorous Y. M. C. A. has the temerity to put on its last international conference program a Methodist bishop and a rabbi who spoke in no uncertain terms in condemnation of the present capitalistic order. Three great religious bodies band together, and, with an investigation and a public report, provide the means whereby the victimized I. W. W.'s of the Centralia Armistice Day tragedy receive paroles. There is hardly a meeting of any religious group which does not issue some challenging statement concretely condemning certain social injustices. These statements have become increasingly courageous as the folly of our present economic mismanagement has augmented the toll of human suffering. A growing number of pulpits resound with challenges to the existing order, and the reactionary bishop of Kentucky is much more of an anomaly today than he would have been only a few years ago.

The Book End

With occasional exceptions important enough to merit dra criticism, THE WORLD TOMORROW *reviews only books which believes, after careful evaluation, are of genuine wor*

Right on the Chin

The Power Fight. By Stephen Raushenbush. The New Republic. $1.00.

ONCE in a blue moon a book is written on an important social problem which makes a reviewer say: "That *is* a book. Why didn't someone write that before?"

One reason why someone didn't write Mr. Raushenbush's book before is that there are few men in the country equipped by training to discuss the power industry who are not beholden in one way or another to its present masters. The forces of power ownership are so pervasive and so relentless that they gobble up the engineers and frighten away the critics. Mr. Raushenbush is lucky enough to be a public economist who cannot be muzzled and who knows his electric industry. He has produced a volume so full of meat that it should be a part of the education of every consumer to read it.

The increasing concentration of the power industry and the extent to which it controls newspapers and college professors has been described in several previous books. Mr. Raushenbush fills in enough of this familiar background in his book to make his picture complete and then goes on to expose the underlying economics which make concentration and propaganda worth while. He estimates that the prize at stake in the fight between private and public ownership of the power industry will be 14 billion dollars in the next 29 years. This estimate is based on the hypothesis that we are now paying the power companies 7½ percent interest on 10 billion dollars. If we bought out the industry and gave the present owners 10 billions in government bonds at 4½ percent we would own the whole industry by 1960 and we would save about one million dollars a day while we were buying it.

At present the power companies ask the consumers to pay interest on twice what they have actually invested, and with our undermanned and conservative public service commissions in full retreat the companies get at least 25 percent of the excess that they ask for. In New York City the Consolidated Gas monopoly gets $17 a year more from each residential consumer than a public monopoly would get if it paid four percent on its capital—a fact brought out by the City Affairs Committee.

The private power system is not a single trust—Mr. Raushenbush's section on concentration proves only that there are large "spheres of influence" in the industry without any inclusive monopoly—but when the power companies control the regulation bodies so completely, a monopoly is unnecessary for the maintenance of profits. Regulation becomes "an expensive farce." If the regulatory bodies do show signs of courage, the companies appeal to conservative courts. "Of course the utilities are strong supporters—the very strongest—of regulation," says Mr. Raushenbush. "They have profited by it in a way in which private business in a competitive field is rarely able to profit. It is nonsense to pretend that they have been restricted by regulation. It h been our great gift to them."

The story of the way in which President Hoover and t Republican Party have sabotaged Muscle Shoals for eight yea is one of the most interesting parts of this study. The admi istration has used fake statistics and doctored reports in t effort to keep for private profiteers a money value of $249,00 000 which could be extracted from this gigantic enterprise—a it still is undeveloped because of that sabotage. Likewise it w Hoover and his associates who hamstrung the Federal Pow Commission and forced out two faithful public servants, Willia V. King and Charles A. Russell, because they were trying make the Commission an effective instrument for regulation.

Over against the exploitation by private companies Mr. Raush enbush sets the great public development in Ontario, the mu nicipal plants in the United States, the government planning i Great Britain, and the quasi-public developments in German Of them all the public ownership in Ontario stands out like beacon. Domestic service in New York cities costs two to thre times as much as in Ontario, and the industrial users in Ontari moreover have a wide margin of advantage. Municipal owne ship in American cities has also proved superior to private own ership from the consumer's angle, especially in cities of 20,00 or more where a fairly large plant is called for. As immediat next steps Mr. Raushenbush advocates the development of fed eral water-power projects and local public power districts. H foresees the power fight of the next decade centering about pub licly owned local power districts, with the cities on one sid and the power companies on the other.

It is easy to see who will win the first rounds in that fight The power companies have all the weapons and the only wa chest. But it is equally easy to see that they will lose in th long run because their arrogance and greed have created force that will destroy them.

PAUL BLANSHARD

Blueprints on Shifting Sands?

Socialist Planning and a Socialist Program. Edited by Harry W Laidler. Falcon Press. Price $2.00.

IT is an accepted editorial axiom that a writer for a sym posium contributes quality below his own average. If so, th participants in *Socialist Planning and a Socialist Program* ar either nearly all persons of unusually great literary and intellec tual capacity or, what is perhaps still rarer, persons of great sin cerity. The product is an interesting book, one that raises a question with every page the reader turns yet one that gives no lead. For once at least, the adage, "In multitude there is counsel" did not prove true.

Dr. Harry W. Laidler has done a creditable job of organizing and headlining the material in the book, but he is constrained to admit that "the volume gives no pretense at completeness." He

it may prove helpful in the cause of furthering the great e to which socialism is dedicated but how will it, if it offers finite course of action? The pungent observation of Marx uerbach inescapably comes to mind: "The philosophers have ariously *interpreted* the world, the point is that of *trans-ng* the world." Laidler formulates six points on which his llaborators are essentially in agreement. These are:

1. America is abundantly equipped to assure decency, security and comfort to every man, woman and child;
2. The existence of poverty and unemployment is due to the rule of chaos characteristic of capitalism;
3. Adequate social planning, for service and use, is incompatible with capitalism;
4. Genuine social planning is socialist in character, and need not be undemocratic in form;
5. Economic, educational and above all, political organization of the masses of the people is the preliminary condition of realizing social planning, and,
6. The movement toward "peaceful revolution" might be materially helped by a "development of more specific plans and programs for the transference of industry from private to public ownership and for the operation of a cooperative system."

he crux of the whole business is the sixth point. But it re-is toward the end precisely where Norman Thomas had placed the opening chapter. "You cannot creep up on capitalism and iessly inject enlightened planning into it so that, by its own ical processes, it will tend unconsciously to socialize itself," Thomas. Pierce Williams in an excellently done analysis of erican Proposals for Planning" puts it even more bluntly he suggests that "these proposals represent futile attempts ake progress while standing still." Sane people need not e the desirability of a peaceful transition. The question is her it is possible. Stuart Chase recalls that "privileged es in earlier ages, on the principle of self-preservation, have ht savagely for the maintenance of the *status quo*. Only ly revolutions have dislodged them." And he fears that te the enlightenment of our day, the wide circulation of the , the enormous outpouring of best sellers, and, above all, our dant economy, "the privileged classes may prefer to wreck mechanism rather than give up the relative grandeur of r-conspicuous consumption." But he has nothing better to ad-than that "we have got to begin to think." He does not say is "we." Will the privileged classes be move to think by of an eloquent appeal to their brains—or under an impres-threat to their bodies, and if so how can such threat be made essive?

Without economic power of unionism, and playing politics with-a leading idea, what base has socialism in real life? What pect of success? How will the "third estate" that is "nothing y" ever become anything, let alone everything? There are es of protest against opportunism and "movement for move-t's sake," in this volume, but they are not too many nor are offering more than vague objections to compromise. Russia minently figures in the discussion but peculiarly enough it is ed most unpragmatically all throughout. Professor Colston Warne demands that "above all, the Russian experience should used to the utmost." He is sure "the American Socialist ement has lost its vigor and effectiveness in part through its ure to prepare specific blueprints of the social system which roposes to substitute for the present chaos." But is the United States to be Russianized, and if so, how? The Communist Party is frequently quoted and its methods of action naturally rejected. But the inanities and indulgencies of a movement not yet in its 'teens are taken seriously enough to be flattering to it. The references to "the Russian experiment," without considering the experience that has been accompanying it, are as unrealistic as the rejection of the Communist approach to the issue of the American revolution because of the wrong words they are using in the process. Of course, if the Communists cannot learn, it is well that they perish, and the sooner the better, but that won't justify Socialist day-dreaming of displacing capitalist control without organized and purposeful power-accumulation and power-seizure. "We cannot advance the cause of peaceful revolution, which is the greatest cause men have ever espoused," says Norman Thomas, "and at the same time divert our energies or our dreams to plans for seizing power by violence." But is it safe to assume that those who hold power will hesitate to fight to retain it? Stuart Chase emphatically says no. Capitalism will not be put to bed either by blueprints or red words. Power will yield only to greater power.

J. B. S. HARDMAN

WE RECOMMEND

Money in Elections. By Louise Overacker (largely from material collected by Victor J. West). Macmillan Co. $3.50. Indubitably the finest and most comprehensive study yet made of a vexing problem of popular government, and an extremely handy reference book for the student of the election and its aftermath.

Straw Votes—A Study of Political Prediction. By Claude E. Robinson and Robert E. Chaddock. Columbia University Press. $2.75. The authors give us the low-down on this exciting but dubious practice of American politics, and find that in such polls as those taken by the *Literary Digest,* for example, there seems to be a percentage of error amounting to six per cent toward the winner, whoever he happens to be. But that is not all. It is a fine bit of thorough research, though we are not yet among those who have come to believe that the best thing to do would be to call the election a certainty as soon as the *Literary Digest* and Hearst newspaper polls are taken.

Ethical Relativity. By Edward Westermarck. Harcourt Brace and Co. $3.75. Dr. Westermarck's theory of moral relativity is fully revealed in his previous works, particularly in his *Origin and Development of Moral Ideals.* In this volume he gives systematic treatment to a subject previously developed historically. Few will quarrel with the main thesis of his book on the relativity of moral standards. It is a question however whether relativity in standards necessarily leads to the sociological interpretation of the moral consciousness as such, as it does in Westermarck's thought.

A Cultural History of the Modern Age, Vol. III. By Egon Friedell. Alfred Knopf. $5.00. This is the third volume in Friedell's history, the other two volumes having been previously translated. The final volume deals with the nineteenth century. It is in many respects more brilliant than the others. Friedell knows little about the economic background of the age or perhaps it would be better to say that economic life does not interest him very much. Nor is he particularly interested in politics.

His insights into the thought and feeling of an age are frequently brilliant and incisive and his mastery of details is almost as encyclopedic as that of his master, Oswald Spengler. He follows the Spenglerian formula and regards the nineteenth century as the death of a culture, of the culture arising in the Middle Ages and defined by Spengler as Faustian.

CORRESPONDENCE

Pitt Demands Loyalty

LAST June the University of Pittsburgh invited Major General Douglas MacArthur to make the commencement address. Three hundred students presented a signed petition asking the Chancellor why a chauvinist like MacArthur should be their commencement speaker. The petition was largely engineered by pacifist groups in the Christian Association and by the Students' League, an organization of liberals. Most of those who signed the petition did so on pacifist rather than on Marxian convictions.

The petition was ignored; General MacArthur was duly scheduled to speak and was cordially greeted by university officials on his arrival in Pittsburgh. Particular care was taken that the distinguished patriot should know nothing of the petition by the students nor the publicity which the newspapers gave to it.

The protesting students on their part decided to hold a peace demonstration and in preparation for it concocted at their homes several signs, one of which appropriately read "Generals Die in Bed." The University denied the necessary permit for a demonstration and the plans were duly abandoned, but their frustration was keenly felt. Three of the students, Leonard J. Brumet, Alonzo Brewer and Louis Tietelbaum, remained at the Y. M. C. A. building, where the demonstration was to be organized, and while they were regretfully, though peacefully, fondling the unused signs, an officer entered and arrested them. The boys offered no resistance. They were lodged in the Oakland police station where they remained for five hours before bail was posted for their release. The police magistrate who was later to try them utilized this time for questioning the boys upon their Americanism.

The next day the police magistrate found each of the students guilty of disorderly conduct and imposed upon each a fine of five dollars. This, despite the testimony of the arresting officer to the effect that the students were not disorderly but were arrested at the request of W. Don Harrison, director of athletics at the university. Mr. Harrison testified that it was his duty to see there was no peace demonstration on Commencement Day. He further stated that the students "had no business in the Y. M. C. A. building although it was found that Brewer was an undergraduate officer of the association.

The case was promptly appealed to County Court, and on September 18 Judge Michael A. Musmanno handed down a decision which not only reversed the fines imposed by the Magistrate but which rebuked the University in no uncertain terms:

> College students are not empty tanks into which wisdom is to be poured. A college student's head is not a sponge which is to absorb everything that a college professor happens to say. Education consists in not only acquiring knowledge and data, but in thinking as well.
>
> The main purpose of a university education should be to make students think, and how can there be thinking without free speech? . . . If ever there was a time to think, this is the time.

Far from being dismayed by this decision, the University of Pittsburgh announced on the first registration day its grim determination to purge the University of all radicalism by requiring 10,000 students before they could register to sign the following pledge:

> While I am a student at the University of Pittsburgh I pledge, upon my honor, loyalty and allegiance to the Constitution of the United States of America and to the Constitution and laws of the State of Pennsylvania, and I pledge, upon my honor, loyalty in spirit and in action to the purposes and regulations of the University of Pittsburgh.

The majority of the students took the pledge as a joke; wondered if it would interfere with their previously accepted right to violate the Volstead Act. One co-ed wrote on the pledge card "I reserve the right to respectfully request Congress to nullify the Eighteenth Amendment." Another student requested a copy of "the purposes and regulations of the University" and was told there were none available. Several protest movements on the part of the students were started but proved abortive. The real effective protest was made by the newspapers. The Pittsburgh *Press* aptly inquired editorially whether the University's new 42-story building is to be a "Cathedral of Learning" or a "Tower of Reaction." Neither the Chancellor nor the Board of Trustees has as yet answered this very pertinent question. The pressure, however, has considerably relaxed.

Justice Holmes, referring to the Quakers, said in his dissenting opinion on the Schwimmer case, "I had not supposed hitherto that we regreted our inability to expel them because they believed more than some of us do in the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount. In the Macintosh case Chief Justice Hughes stated, likewise in a dissenting opinion, that "in the form of conscience, duty to a moral power higher than the state has always been maintained. The essence of religion is belief in a relation to God involving duties higher than any human relation. One cannot speak of religious liberty with proper appreciation of its essential and historic significance, without assuming the existence of a belief in supreme allegiance to the will of God."

It would only be fair if the students who signed the pledge demanded that the Chancellor should have framed and should keep on his desk these statements of Justices Hughes and Holmes as well as the decision of Judge Musmanno.

Pittsburgh, Pa. M.H.K.

Is Labor Swinging to the Left?

AS editor of a labor paper in a closed shop town, I have every opportunity to study the labor movement throughout the country as well as locally. From reading recent issues of THE WORLD TOMORROW one would think that the time is coming when labor in these United States will make a political swing to the left, either by organizing an independent labor party or by uniting with the Socialists. If there were reason for such optimism we might rejoice, but there is nothing unusual happening in the organized labor movement to justify such rejoicing.

The recent action of the United Textile Workers would seem to bring some ray of hope, but the United Textile Workers has always been a militant, left-wing organization and have wielded little influence in the labor movement at large. The labor papers of the United States, with very few exceptions, show little trend toward a liberal policy. The International Labor News Service, which supplies most of the labor journals with news service is pro-Hoover. This service is conducted by Matthew

l who has made a fortune in the movement and who as-
to William Green's seat in the American Federation of
. The American Federation News Service is conducted
orrison and Green and is also pro-Hoover. No change
e expected under Green for he is the mouthpiece of Presi-
Lewis, of the United Mine Workers, and a more reactionary
than this cannot be found in the movement.

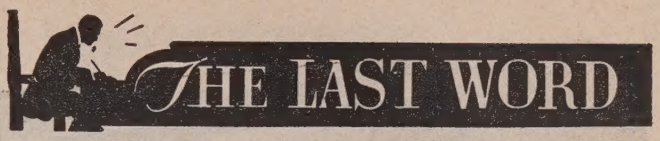
this city from which I write, a town in which labor could
every city and county election, there is no movement to the
n politics. The local labor group has refused, time after
to organize a party and has refused to endorse Norman
as and the Socialist platform in the present campaign, even
h this platform goes further than any labor demands made
e American Federation and despite the fact that the labor
l of Norman Thomas or James Maurer is far superior to
of the endorsed candidate, Franklin D. Roosevelt. The
ist candiate for Governor and one Socialist candidate for
tate Legislature have been endorsed by the local labor
. A Democrat has been endorsed for Lieutenant-Governor.
ct, the legislative ticket supported by the local labor group
like a Democratic ticket with a few Republicans and So-
s thrown in to make it appear impartial.

ere is every reason to believe that labor will not swing
e left for some time to come. In the first place, our sys-
of craft-unionism is individualistic. There is craft-con-
sness but no class-consciousness in the labor movement. As
trade is interested, primarily, in its own welfare, so each
er is interested in his own job rather than in jobs for his
as a whole. The workers are job-conscious and they swing
e direction of jobs for the present. The Democratic and
blican parties know that the promise of a stipend is a bigger
nce than any feeling of class-consciousness. In this town
ave labor leaders, officers and delegates to the central body,
ing for Democrats and Republicans. These men, unem-
d, have been promised jobs if they can swing labor behind
of the old parties.

the second place, labor leaders know the weakness of the
movement. If labor were to form an independent party
ite with the Socialists their weakness would immediately be
nt. There are few communities left in the United States
e labor has any real political power. Even in our 100
ent organized town we could only nominate six of the ten
endorsed for the State Legislature. One candidate, two
ago, secured 500 votes when unions representing a mem-
ip of almost 5000 gave him their unanimous endorsement.
ng their lack of unanimity and strength, labor can wield a
over the heads of old-line party officers and enforce labor
ation. Green, Woll and the others know this. By having
groups endorse candidates in both parties they have a hold
oth Republicans and Democrats.

he heads of organized labor, locally and nationally, will do
their power to head off any movement toward an inde-
ent labor party, or even a fusion with the Socialists. A
of power is more threatening than a showdown of weak-
and as long as we have Doaks, Davises and their like
ng political jobs, there will be no swing to the left in
nized labor. All power to the Textile Workers—but our
is that if they are too insistent in their demands they will
nseated at the convention, and if they are too persistent in
radicalism their charter will be revoked.

utte, Montana CHARLES E. SEBOLD.



WHEN the election is over, presidential candidates of the minor parties may sink into a blessed oblivion; but this for some of them will not be for long. "Colonel" William Hope ("Coin") Harvey of the Liberty Party, for example, may never have his brow decked with the laurel wreath for political prowess, but he is destined to go down in history not alone as an inflationist, but—if that oracle of achievement, *Who's Who in America,* is correct—as the man who "built the pyramid at Monte Ne, Arkansas." There are more than a few ways of guaranteeing perpetuity for one's name. Once upon a time, a man named Rhodes built, or at any rate had built, a pyramid of stone off the coast of Stonington, Connecticut, at the exact place out in the Sound where the waters of New York State, Rhode Island, and Connecticut come together. This has long been known as "Rhodes' Folly," and it sounds pretty bad. But I wonder whether Rhodes himself, notwithstanding, did not have a secret delight, whatever may seem the superficial view, in this publicizing of his name and dream? How else could you explain marathon dancers, flagpole sitters, or those who endow universities with a proviso that they take the name of the donor?

That sort of horror, however, has never afflicted some of our stalwarts. I've always had a little bit of curiosity over the parents of Mr. James Cash Penny. But I think that the farthest north in patronymics was reached by "General" Jacob S. Coxey, mayor of Massillon, Ohio, candidate for the presidency on the Farmer-Labor ticket, and famed for his march, long years ago, on Washington. Coxey, too, is an inflationist, and has centered his thought on monetary reform. Note then, that he gave to his helpless, unoffending son the name of Legal Tender Coxey. I once knew an old New Englander whose rebel spirit, in the midst of Republican sanctity and mob-mindedness, flared up in one mad moment and led him to name his new-born boy Democrat Smith. And Democrat Smith, by the way, turned out to become one of the town's most faithful pillars of Republicanism. Well, let this be a lesson to you.

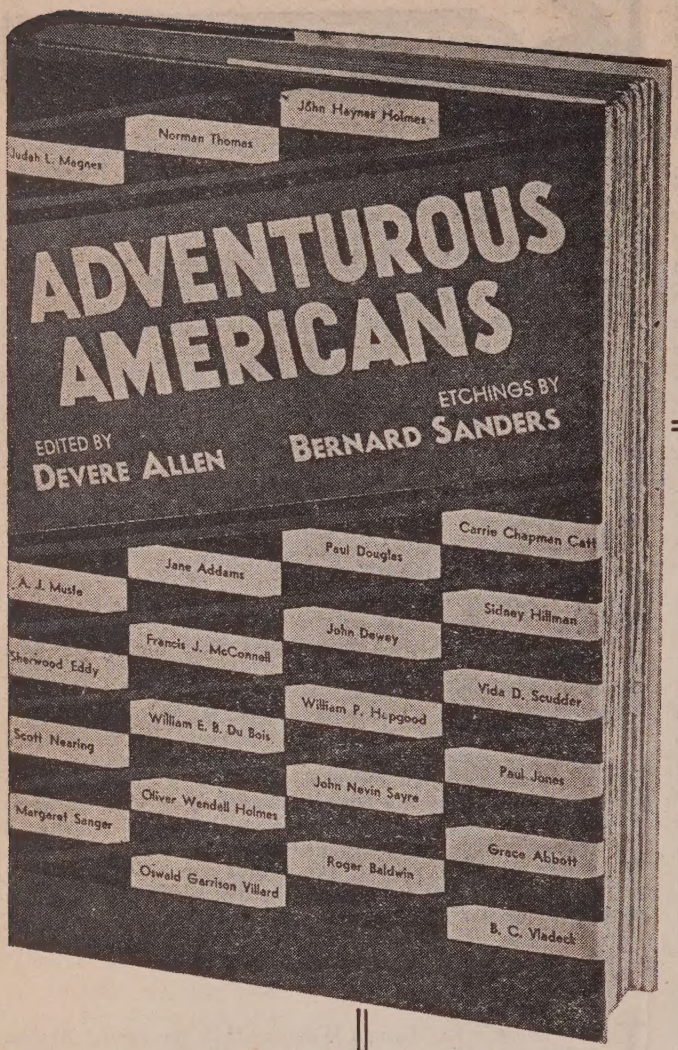
◀

THEN there is Ray Lyman Wilbur. How the citizens of Ann Arbor must have marvelled at the splendid state of affairs in the country, the unparalleled advances, the comfort and security and idealism promoted during the last three years, when Secretary Wilbur made it known to them that Mr. Hoover was "specially trained to guide us through the depression." "Who gassed the babies in Washington?" asked a pestiferous inquirer. "No one did," said the veracious Mr. Wilbur; "none were gassed." This can be just added to those other illusions of history—that there was a woman Pope, that Columbus first discovered America, and that Republican stump speakers from the Cabinet are men of honor.

◀

I NOTE that the Women's Club of Ravinia, Illinois, according to the Federated Press, was willing to have Countee Cullen, Negro poet, come and read his poems, but finally felt they must call off the engagement because it is the custom of the Club to give a tea to each writer on their programs. To do this would be, for many good clubwomen, just not the thing, y'know. Even as the Lowells and Cabots conversed only with the deity, so the clubwomen of Ravinia have a very selective tendency. "Poems are made for fools like me; but only God can come to tea."

Eccentricus ■



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